# 女權宣言

## Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne

女權與女性公民權宣言 Olympe de Gouges 黃詩涵　譯

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## 女權

男人，你能不能公正點？現在是一個女人向你提出這個問題，至少你不會剝奪她這個詢問的權利吧？告訴我，你憑什麼有至高無上的權力來欺壓我們女性？是你的力量？你的才能？想想睿智的造物者，並綜覽你似乎想與之和諧共處的偉大自然界，然後向我舉出，假如你敢的話，一個男性單獨暴政的例子。

回溯動物界，參考自然界的力量，研究植物，最後瀏覽所有有機物的運作，再來待我告訴你方法後向證據投降：尋找，挖掘，並分辨，倘使你能的話，自然界運作時的性別；你會發現它們〔性別〕處處融合為一，處處在這永恆的傑作〔自然〕中和諧共同運作。

只有男人拙劣地將這〔自然界〕唯一例外的情形升為原則；在這充滿智慧的啟蒙時代，古怪、盲目、對知識消化不良、退化至全然無知的男人，想要像個暴君般地統治一個擁有心智能力的性別〔女性〕；男人假裝欣喜於革命的成果並宣稱自己的平等權，為的只是不再提這件事。

提案由國民會議在會期結束前表決，或由下屆國民會議表決。

## 女權與女性公民權宣言

### 序言

吾等眾位母親、女兒、姐妹，身為國民的女性代表，要求成為國民會議的一份子。茲慮及對女權的無知、疏忽與輕蔑，乃公共災禍及政府腐敗的唯一原因，〔女人〕遂決議在一篇莊嚴的宣言中，闡述女人自然、不可剝奪，與神聖的權利，以便此篇永久呈現在社會所有成員之前的宣言，不斷喚醒他們的權利與義務；以便女權與男權的行動，可以隨時與一切政治制度的目標相比較而更為受到尊重；俾使女性公民此後奠基於簡單且不容置疑原則之上的要求，能永遠維護憲法、美德與大眾福祉。因此，在美貌與歷經母難時所表現之勇氣都勝一籌的女性，在最高存在之前及其庇護下，承認並宣布，下述的女權與女性公民權：

### 第一條

女人生而自由，與男人權利平等。社會區分只能建立在共同的利益之上。

### 第二條

所有政治結社的宗旨乃為維護女人與男人自然且不受時效拘束的權利；這些權利為自由權、財產權、人身安全與抵抗壓迫的權利。

### 第三條

一切主權的基本原則都源於女人與男人所匯集而成的國民。任何團體或個人均不可行使非源於國民的權利。

第四條

自由與正義包含歸還屬於他人之物；女人行使自然權利的唯一限制在於男性永久的暴政，為此需以自然與理性的法則來改革。

第五條

自然與理性的法則禁止一切危害社會的行為：任何此明智神聖法律未禁止的事，都不得加以阻撓；任何法律未規定的事也不得強迫為之。

第六條

法律是普遍意志的表達，所有女性與男性公民都必須親自，或是透過代表來參與其制定。法律對所有人必須一視同仁：法律之前女男平等，所有女性與男性公民，都可依據其能力取得頭銜、地位與從事公職，除了德行與才能外別無區分。

第七條

除了法律規定的案例，任何女人不得被控告、逮捕或拘禁。女人與男人相同，都必須遵守此條嚴格的法律。

第八條

法律只能制定絕對必要的刑罰，任何人只可依據在犯罪之前即制定、公佈，且合法實施於女人的法律受到處罰。

第九條

任何女人一旦被宣告有罪，法律得執行所有嚴厲措施。

第十條

任何人都不應為其言論，甚至是基本的言論而感到不安；若其示威不干擾法律所建立的公共秩序，女人有權上斷頭台，便有權上演講台。

第十一條

思想與意見的傳達自由是最珍貴的女權之一，因為此自由確保子女為父親所承認；由此，除了法律所規範之濫用自由情形外，所有女性公民可以自由地說：「我是您孩子的母親」，而不須為了野蠻的偏見隱藏事實。

第十二條

女權與女性公民權的保障包含多數人的利益；這種保障必須是為全體女性利益所設，而非少數人的特定利益。

第十三條

為維持公權力並支付行政開銷，女人與男人繳交相等稅捐；女人分擔了所有的苦役與艱辛工作，她們也必須享有相同的地位、職務與頭銜。

第十四條

所有女性與男性公民，都有權自行或透過代表來查證公共稅捐的必要性。公共稅捐的責任，只適用於享有同等權利的女人，而此權利不僅限於財富的分享，也包括了公共行政，以及決定稅捐分配額、課稅基數、徵收與期間的權利。

第十五條

廣大的女性既為男性稅捐貢獻，便有權利要求任何公務人員提供稅收管理之帳目。

第十六條

為臻權利保障之確實，權力分立制度未予釐定之社會，不能謂之有憲法；若多數人未參與憲法起草，此憲法不具法律效力。

第十七條

不論是共同或個別的女男兩性，都具有財產權；財產權是一項不可侵犯的神聖權利。除非有法律制定之明白公共需求，與事先決定之公正補償，任何人都不得被剝奪財產權，因為此權利即是與生俱來的財產。

**後記**

女人們，清醒吧！理性的警鐘響徹天地，認清妳的權利。強盛帝國不再為偏見、狂熱、迷信與謊言所包圍；真理的火炬驅散了愚蠢與僭越的烏雲。男人曾被奴役，儘管力量增強，他們仍需要你們的協助以掙脫枷鎖，然而一旦自己自由了，他們卻將不平等的待遇加諸於女伴。唉！女人啊！妳們何時才要睜開雙眼？妳們在革命中得到了什麼好處？妳們只得到了更顯著的輕蔑與鄙視。在腐敗的數個世紀以來，妳們僅能支配男人的弱點，妳們的支點瓦解之後，還有什麼遺留？是男人對妳們根深蒂固的不平等待遇。請求財產的權利具有賢明的自然法理基礎，對此妳們有什麼好懼怕的？　　妳們害怕法國擔負矯正舊時代不合時宜道德之責的立法官員，向妳們覆誦：妳們女人和我們男人有何共同點？「完全相同」，妳們理應這麼回答。若是他們因為軟弱而前後不一致地自相矛盾，勇敢的以理性的力量來對抗這空泛的自命不凡，在智慧的旗幟之下團結起來，展現妳們的性格，不久妳們就可以看到這些高傲的男人，不但是臣服在女人腳下卑顏屈膝的愛慕者，還很驕傲地和妳們共同分享最高存在的珍寶。不論妳們遭遇什麼樣的障礙，解放自我的力量掌握在妳們自己的手中，只要妳們願意去做。現在來談談妳們早先身處社會的可怕畫面，目前國民教育迫在眉梢，但且看看我們賢明的立法者是否想過女性的教育。

〔綜觀歷史〕女人造孽比為善多，壓迫與虛偽就是她們的命運。凡是力量所不及的，她們就用狡詐計謀討回來，她們以魅力作為手段，連最清高的人都無法招架。不論是毒藥或是劍都聽命於女人，她們用邪惡的手段也能達到目的，就像以美德潛移默化。法國在數個世紀以來，

總是女人夜裡在床上掌控國家大事，國王的行政會議在她們面前完全無秘密，不論是大使、軍官、內閣、法官、教皇、樞機主教，所有男人的愚蠢，不論是世俗或神聖的，終究要臣服於女人的貪婪與野心。先前女性是可鄙但受尊敬的，在大革命後則是可敬但受鄙視。

在這篇舉反證的文章中，我有太多意見要表達，可是我只有頃刻時間來評論，然而這片刻足以讓後世永誌難忘。在舊王朝時代，所有事情都是腐敗罪惡的，但難道我們不能在此當中看見情況改善的希望嗎？女人只需要長得美或是可愛，一旦她具有這兩項特質，大富豪就拜倒在她腳下；假如她不好好利用，那麼她不是性格奇特就是思想異於常人，因而鄙棄財富。別人會認為這種女人脾氣古怪，不過最不正經的女人卻用財富贏得了尊敬。肉體的買賣曾是允許女人晉身上流社會的產業，但如今這種行業已不再有信譽，假使這尚被接受，那麼大革命

終究會失敗，因為我們仍是同樣地腐敗；然而，理想無法蒙蔽事實，就目前的社會情勢來看，女人除此之外有何其他生財之道？這和非洲海岸的奴隸買賣並無二致。不，差別可大的呢，這我們都知道，女奴由主人發落，但要是主人在沒給報酬的情況下賜與她自由，可是她早已年華老去，失去所有魅力，這不幸的女人會變成什麼樣子？她會變成眾人輕蔑的對象，連慈善之門也在她面前無情地關上。大家說她又老又窮，當初肉體秀色可餐時怎麼不知道要賺點兒棺材本呢？另外還有個更可怕的例子：有個涉世未深的年輕女子被所愛之人誘惑，拋棄了父母只為追隨愛人，但這個沒心肝的傢伙幾年之後就會離開她，而他愈是玩膩她的肉體，他的背叛就愈無情，即使她有了孩子，他照樣遺棄他們。如果他富有，他就認為可以不必與他高貴的受害者分享財富；如果承諾迫使他負責任，他會一概不認帳，並訴諸法律保護；如果他已婚，那麼所有諾言都失效。

究竟還有什麼法律可以將這種惡行連根拔除？唯有男女之間財源以及公共行政權的平分。可是我們發覺，生於富貴之家的女性能因財產平分得利甚多，然而生於貧苦之家，擁有各種美德的女性，得到的是什麼？貧窮與恥辱。假使她在音樂與繪畫方面並無特殊長才，儘管她在其他方面能力甚強，也無法從事任何公職。我並不想只粗略的說明這情況，在我醞釀於幾天內新版的政治性作品中，我將會深入探討，並附上註解。

我現在繼續關於道德的部分。婚姻是信任與愛情的墳墓，已婚女子可以輕而易舉地給丈夫戴綠帽，並給予私生子原本不屬於他的財富；但是未婚女子則幾乎無權利可言，古老又泯滅人性的法律拒絕給予她的子女繼承父姓與財產的權利，而目前完全無新法針對此現象改善。倘若欲嘗試以我的名義賦予女性有尊嚴且公正的待遇，是件矛盾又不可能的事，那麼我將處理此事並藉此得到榮耀的機會留給男性。但在等待此刻來臨之前，我們可以藉國民教育，道德重建，與婚姻協定為此鋪路。

## 男女社會契約書

吾等_____與_____，在下列的情況之下，基於自由意志在人生中相互傾慕的期間結合：我們意圖並希望將財產合併，但同時保留將財產分離的權利，不論這是為了我們的兒女，或是任何我們特別愛好的人；並且相互承認我們的財產直接屬於我們的子女，不計他們的來歷，他們一概享有繼承承認他們的父母之名的權利。同樣地，在離異之時，我們必須要將財產分離，並將法律規定屬於我們子女的部分事先取出。在一生圓滿結合的情況下，先死亡之一方財產半數自動歸為子女所有；若先死亡一方膝下無子女，另一方繼承全數財產，除非死者在生前已自行安排將一半財產留予其認定應得者。

# Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne

**Olympe de Gouges**

**1791**

## Préambule

Les mères, les filles, les soeurs, représentantes le la Nation, demandent d'être constituées en assemblée nationale. Considérant que l'ignorance, l'oubli ou le mépris des droits de la femme, sont les seules causes des malheurs publics et de la corruption des Gouvernements, ont résolu d'exposer dans une déclaration solennelle, les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de la femme, afin que cette déclaration, constamment présente à tous les membres du corps social, leur rappelle sans cesse leurs droits et leurs devoirs, afin que les actes du pouvoir des femmes, et ceux du pouvoir des hommes pouvant être à chaque instant comparés avec le but de toute institution politique, en soient plus respectés, afin que les réclamation des citoyennes, fondées désormais sur des principes simples et incontestables, tournent toujours au maintien de la Constitution, des bonnes moeurs, et au bonheur de tous. En conséquence, le sexe supérieur en beauté comme en courage, dans les souffrances maternelles, reconnaît et déclare, en présence et sous les auspices de l'Être suprême, les Droits suivants de la Femme et de la Citoyenne.

Article 1

La femme naît libre et demeure égale à l'homme en droits. Les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune.

Article 2

Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de la Femme et de l'Homme ; ces droits sont la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté, et surtout la résistance à l'oppression.

Article 3

Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la Nation, qui n'est que la réunion de la Femme et de l'Homme ; nul corps, nul individu, ne peut exercer d'autorité qui n'en émane expressément.

Article 4

La liberté et la justice consistent à rendre tout ce qui appartient à autrui ; ainsi l'exercice des droits naturels de la femme n'a de bornes que la tyrannie perpétuelle que l'homme lui oppose : ces bornes doivent être réformées par les lois de la nature et de la raison.

Article 5

Les lois de la nature et de la raison défendent toutes actions nuisibles à la société; tout ce qui n'est pas défendu par ces lois, sages et divines, ne peut être empêché, et nul ne peut être contraint à faire ce qu'elles n'ordonnent pas.

Article 6

La loi doit être l'expression de la volonté générale ; toutes les Citoyennes et Citoyens doivent concourir personnellement ; ou par leurs représentant, à sa formation ; elle doit être la même pour tous ; toutes les citoyennes et les citoyens, étant égaux à ses yeux, doivent être également admissibles à toutes dignités, places et emplois publics, selon leurs capacités ; et sans autres distinctions que celles de leurs vertus et de leurs talents.

Article 7

Nulle femme n'est exceptée ; elle est accusée, arrêtée et détenue dans les cas déterminés par la Loi. Les femmes obéissent comme les hommes à cette Loi rigoureuse.

## Article 8

La Loi ne doit établir que des peines strictement et évidemment nécessaires, et nul ne peut être puni qu'en vertu d'une loi établie et promulguée antérieurement au délit et légalement appliquée aux femmes.

## Article 9

Toute femme étant déclarée coupable ; toute rigueur est exercée par la Loi.

## Article 10

Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions même fondamentales. La femme a le droit de monter sur l'échafaud ; elle doit avoir également celui de monter à la Tribune ; pourvu que ses manifestations ne troublent pas l'ordre public établi par la Loi.

## Article 11

La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de la femme, puisque cette liberté assure la légitimité des pères envers les enfants. Toute citoyenne peut donc dire librement, je suis mère d'un enfant qui vous appartient, sans qu'un préjugé barbare la force à dissimuler la vérité ; sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi.

## Article 12

La garantie des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne nécessite une utilité majeure ; cette garantie doit être institué pour l'avantage de tous et non pour l'utilité particulière de celles à qui elle est confiée.

## Article 13

Pour l'entretien de la force publique, et pour les dépenses d'administration, les contributions de la femme et de l'homme sont égales ; elle a part à toutes les corvées, à toutes les tâches pénibles ; elle doit donc avoir de même part à la distribution des places, des emplois, des charges, des dignités et de l'industrie.

## Article 14

Les Citoyennes et Citoyens ont le droit de constater par eux-mêmes, ou par leurs représentants, la nécessité de la contribution publique. Les Citoyennes ne peuvent y adhérer que par l'admission d'un partage égal, non seulement dans la fortune, mais encore dans l'administration publique, et de déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement et la durée de l'impôt.

## Article 15

La masse des femmes, coalisée pour la contribution à celle des hommes, a le droit de demander compte, à tout agent public : de son administration.

## Article 16

Toute société, dans laquelle la garantie des droits n'est pas assurée, ni la séparation des pouvoirs déterminée, n'a point de constitution ; la constitution est nulle, si la majorité des individus qui composent la Nation, n'a pas coopéré à la rédaction.

## Article 17

Les propriété sont à tous les sexes réunis ou séparés ; elle sont pour chacun un droit inviolable et sacré ; nul ne peut en être privé comme vrai patrimoine de la nature, si ce n'est lorsque la nécessité publique, légalement constatée, l'exige évidemment, et sous la condition d'une juste et préalable indemnité.

Source : Olympe de Gouges, *Ecrits politiques 1788-1791*, Editions Côté-femmes

## Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen

## Olympe de Gouges

### The Rights of Woman

Man, are you capable of being just? It is a woman who poses the question; you will not deprive her of that right at least. Tell me, what gives you sovereign empire to opress my sex? Your strength? Your talents? Observe the Creator in his wisdom; survey in all her grandeur that nature with whom you seem to want to be in harmony, and give me, if you dare, an exampl of this tyrannical empire. Go back to animals, consult the elements, study plants, finally glance at all the modifications of organic matter, and surrender to the evidence when I offer you the menas; search, probe, and distinguish, if you can, the sexes in the administration of nature. Everywhere you will find them mingled; everywhere they cooperate in harmonious tpgetherness in this immortal masterpiece.

Man alone has raised his exceptional circumstances to a principle. Bizarre, blind, bloated with science and degenerated--in a century of enlightenment and wisdom--into the crassest ignorance, he wants to command as a despot a sex which is in full possession of its intellectual faculties; he pretends to enjoy the Revolution and to claim his rights to equality in order to say nothing more about it.

### Preamble

The mothers, daughters, sisters, representatives of the nation, ask to constitute a National Assembly. Considering that ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of women are the sole causes of public miseries, and of corruption of governments, they have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, unalterable and sacred rights of woman, so that this declaration being ever present to all members of the social body, may unceasingly remind them of their rights and their duties; in order that the acts of women's power, as well as those of men, may be judged constantly against the aim of all political institutions, and thereby be more respected for it, in order that the complaints of women citizens, based henceforth on simple and indisputable principles, may always take the direction of maintaining the Constitution, good morals and the welfare of all. In consequence, the sex superior in beauty and in courage in maternal suffering recognizes and declares, in the presence of and under the auspices of the supreme Being, the following rights of woman and of the woman citizen:

Article 1

Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights. Social distinctions can be based only on common utility.

Article 2

The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man and woman. These rights are liberty, prosperity, security and above all, resistance to oppression.

Article 3

The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation, which is nothing but the joining together of Man and Woman; no body, no individual, can exercise authority that does not emanate expressly from it.

Article 4

Liberty and justice consist in giving back to others all that belongs to them; thus the only limits on the exercise of woman's natural rights are the perpetual tyranny by which man opposes her; these limits must be reformed by the laws of nature and of reason.

Article 5

The laws of nature and reason forbid all actions that are harmful to society; all that is not forbidden by these wise and divine laws cannot be prevented, and no one can be constrained to do what they do not prescribe.

Article 6

Law must be the expression of the general will: all citizens, men and women alike, must personally or through their representatives concur in its formation; it must be the same for all; all citizens, men and women alike, being equal before it, must be equally eligible for all high offices, positions and public employments, according to their abilities, and without distinctions other than their virtues and talents.

Article 7

No woman can be an exception: she will be accused, apprehended and detained in cases determined by law; women, like men, will obey the rigorous rule.

Article 8

The law must establish only those penalties which are strictly and clearly necessary, and no woman can be punished by virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offense, and legally applied to women.

Article 9

When a woman is declared guilty, full severity is exercised by the law.

Article 10

No one ought to be disturbed for one's opinions, however fundamental they are; since a woman has the right to mount the scaffold, she must also have the right to address the House, providing her interventions do not disturb the public order as it has been established by law.

Article 11

The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of woman, since this freedom ensures the legitimacy of fathers towards their children. Every woman citizen can therefore say freely: I am a mother of a child that belongs to you, without being forced to conceal the truth because of barbaric prejudice; except to be answerable for abuses of this liberty as determined by law.

Article 12

The guarantee of the rights of woman and of the rights of the woman citizen is a necessary benefit; this guarantee must be instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the personal benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.

Article 13

For the upkeep of public forces and for administrative expenses, the contribution of woman and man are equal; a woman shares in all the labours required by law, in the painful tasks; she must therefore have an equal share in the distribution of offices, employments, trusts, dignities and work.

Article 14

Women and men citizens have the right to ascertain by themselves or through their representatives the necessity of public taxes. Women citizens will not only assume an equal part in providing the wealth but also in the public administration and in determining the quota, the assessment, the collection and the duration of the impost.

Article 15

The mass of women, joined together to contribute their taxes with those of men, have the right to demand from every public official an accounting of his administration.

Article 16

Any society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers determined, has no Constitution: the Constitution is null if the majority of the individuals of whom the nation is comprised have not participated in its drafting.

Article 17

Ownership of property is for both sexes, mutually and separately; it is for each a sacred and inviolable right; no one can be deprived of it as a true patrimony from nature, unless a public necessity, legally established, evidently demands it, and with the condition of a just and prior indemnity.

## Afterword

Women, wake up! The alarm bell of reason is making itself heard throughout the universe; recognize your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer beset by prejudices, fanaticism, superstition and lies. The torch of truth has dispelled all clouds of stupidity and usurpation. The enslaved man multiplied his forces but has had to resort to yours to break his chains. Once free he became unjust to his female companion. O women! women, when will you stop being blind? What advantages have you received from the revolution? A more pronounced scorn, a more marked contempt? During the centuries of corruption, your only power was over the weaknesses of men. Your empire is destroyed, what then is left to you? The conviction that men are unjust. The claiming of your patrimony based on the wise laws of nature. The good word of [Jesus Christ] the Lawgiver of the Marriage at Cana? Are you afraid that our French lawmakers, correctors of this morality, so long tied up with the politics which is no longer in style will say to you: "Women, what is there in common between you and us?" - Everything, you would have to reply. If they persisted in their weakness, in putting forth this inconsistency which is a contradiction of their principles, you should courageously oppose these hale pretensions of superiority with the forces of reason; unite under the banner of philosophy, unfold all the energy of your character and you will soon see these proud men, your servile adorers, crawling at your feet, but proud to share with you the treasures of the Supreme being. Whatever the obstacles that oppose us may be, it is in your power to free us, you have only to will it.. Since it is now a question of national education, let us see if our wise lawmakers will think wisely about the education of women.

Women have done more harm than good. Constraint and dissimulation have been their lot. What force had robbed them of, ruse returned to them. Poison and the sword were both subject to them; they commanded in crime as in fortune. The French government, especially, depended throughout the centuries on the nocturnal administration of women; the cabinet kept no secret from their indiscretion; ambassadorial post, command, ministry, presidency, pontificate, college of cardinals; finally, anything which characterises the folly of men, profane and sacred, all have been subject to the cupidity and ambition of this sex, formerly contemptible and respected, and since the revolution, respectable and scorned.

In this sort of contradictory situation, what remarks could I not make! I have but a moment to make them, but this moment will fix the attention of the remotest posterity. Under the Old Regime, all was vicious, all was guilty; but could not the amelioration of conditions be perceived even in the substance of vices? A woman only had to be beautiful or amiable; when she possessed these two advantages, she saw a hundred fortunes at her feet. If she did not profit from them, she had a bizarre character or a rare philosophy which made her scorn wealth; then she was deemed to be like a crazy woman; the most indecent made herself respected with gold; commerce in women was a kind of industry in the first class [of society], which, henceforth, will have no more credit. If it still had it, the revolution would be lost, and under the new relationships we would always be corrupted; however, reason can always be deceived [into believing] that any other road to fortune is closed to the woman whom a man buys, like the slave on the African coasts. The difference is great; that is known. The slave is commanded by the master; but if the slave has lost all her charms, what will become of this unfortunate woman? The victim of scorn, even the doors of charity are closed to her; she is poor and old, they say; why did she not know how to make her fortune? Reason finds other examples that are even more touching. A young, inexperienced woman, seduced by a man whom she loves, will abandon her parents to follow him; the ingrate will leave her after a few years, and the older she has become with him, the more inhuman is his inconstancy; if she has children, he will likewise abandon them. If he is rich, he will consider himself excused from sharing his fortune with his noble victims. If some involvement binds him to his duties, he will deny them, trusting that the laws will support him. If he is married, any other obligation loses its rights. What laws remain to extirpate vice all the way to its root? The law of dividing wealth and public administration between men and women. It can easily be seen that one who is born into a rich family gains very much from such equal sharing. But the one born into a poor family with merit and virtue – what is her lot? Poverty and opprobrium. If she does not precisely excel in music or painting, she cannot be admitted to any public function when she has all the capacity for it. I do not to give only a sketch of things; I will go more deeply into this in the new edition of all my political writings, with notes, which I propose to give to the public in a few days.

I take up my text again on the subject of morals. Marriage is the tomb of trust and love. The married woman can with impunity give bastards to her husband, and also give them the wealth that does not belong to them. The woman who is unmarried has only one feeble right; ancient and inhuman laws refuse to her for her children the right to the name and the wealth of their father; no new laws have been made in this matter. If it is considered a paradox and an impossibility on my part to try to give my sex an honourable and just consistency, I leave it to men to attain glory for dealing with this matter; but while we wait, the way can be prepared through national education, the restoration of morals, and conjugal conventions.

**Form for a Social Contract Between Man and Woman**

We, _____ and ______, moved by our own will, unite ourselves for the duration of our lives, and for the duration of our mutual inclinations, under the following conditions: We intend and wish to make our wealth communal, meanwhile reserving to ourselves the right to divide it in favor of our children and of those toward whom we might have a particular inclination, mutually recognizing that our property belongs directly to our children, from whatever bed they come, and that all of them without distinction have the right to bear the name of the fathers and mothers who have acknowledged them, and we are charged to subscribe to the law which punishes the renunciation of one's own blood. We likewise obligate ourselves, in case of separation, to divide our wealth and to set aside in advance the portion the law indicates for our children, and in the event of a perfect union, the one who dies will divest himself of half his property in his children's favor, and if one dies childless, the survivor will inherit by right, unless the dying person has disposed of half the common property in favor of one whom he judged deserving.

From "Olympe de Gouges, 'Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen,'" in Darline Gav Levy, H. Applewhite, and M. Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1785-1795* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1979), pp. 92-96.